244 great numbers on the leaves of all cultivated plants, especially cassava and sugar cane. There are seven varieties of cassava, but it would take us too far afield to enumerate them here. As Figure 54 indicates, cassava is planted by heaping a little soil over the shoot. /100/

• 249 Similarly, sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum L. (nkɔ̄́k I), is "planted" during the rainy season. Its shoots are taken from the upper part of the stalk, called the "arrow" (Fangwe: esɔ̄́k), but it requires a longer period of time to ripen for it is not harvested until after the second subsequent rainy season, in other words, after thirteen months. Cassava and sugar cane are frequently found together in a planted area, often with cultivated plantains also interspersed among them.

Riddles

524

1. olɔ̄́e e ne m' oko, ke a wūlū
(A) water, it is to me there, not (to) flow.
--The sap in the sugar cane.

2. bangɨ́-tīlda (1) be ne m' oko, vɔ̄ medzɔ̄́ka
wives-father's they are to me there, merely (with) dancing caps,

1. Archaic form; nowadays the usual form is boyɨ́.

medzɔ̄́k
dancing caps.
--masɨ̄́m me nkɔ̄́k = blossoms of the sugar cane.

3. ma vūɨ̄n okɔ̄́-a ngɔ̌́k, o ke lɨ̄me
I throw-to a little stone from the rubble, it goes hitting
nga ndɔ̌́ń-kɔ̌dɔ̄ abɔ́ń
woman, Ndongkodo, (at the) knee.

The solution to this last riddle will be apparent from the following drawing (Fig. 55). Ndongkodo is a jocular name for sugar cane and alludes to the curvature of its stem; ndɔ̌́ń, ndɔ́nɔ́ originally meant

524 "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and kɔ́ɔ - bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

244 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekábe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence [177] they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

●[244]

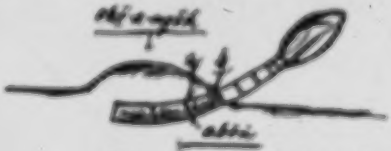

Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1):

[805]

> 1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekábe from a kɔ́b-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

(Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofɔ̌ɔ̌); Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl., likewise (angɔ̌ngɔ̌ŋ); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebáá); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abé); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onɔ̌ɔ̌n, tɔ̌ŋgɔ̌nk); Rickinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezɔ̌ŋɔ̌ŋ); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangáámɛ III Fang, angɔ̌ŋkɔ́m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simaroubaceae (alɔ̌ŋɔ); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (abɔ̌k ɛ sɔ̌ŋ); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon mimutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzɔ́-odzɔ́ dɔ̌k or bodzɔ́bodzɔ́ dɔ̌k); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abɛ́-ɔlɔ́ɔ); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abɔ̌n ɛ ndɔ̌k); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apɔ̌ɔ́n); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebɔ́m eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alɔ́mɛ́, alɔ́ma, and akɛndɔ́m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamyɔ́ne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adɔ̌ŋɔ́m; fruit, ɔlɔ́n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found indispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okɔ̌lɔ̌ŋ IV, undɔ́ndɔ́ III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by Plate 10: Halopegia aurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkɔ̌ŋ I) and

times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayɔ̄ b) -nkɔ̄ŋ keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regularly get drunk on palm wine. I shall leave undecided the question as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okɔ̄ bɔ̄k) in the northern Pangwe region is a phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence in palm wine on the part of the parents.

[164]

4. Tobacco.

Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (nɨ̄ III) (1)

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

A. Leaves are not slated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esɔ̄n (esɔ̄n because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)

B. Leaves are slated

(a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sɔ̄mɔ̄ IV

(b) Leaves are broad, ovate

1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: nɔ̄debɔ̄no I

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbɔ́'mekúnɨ́ I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [77]

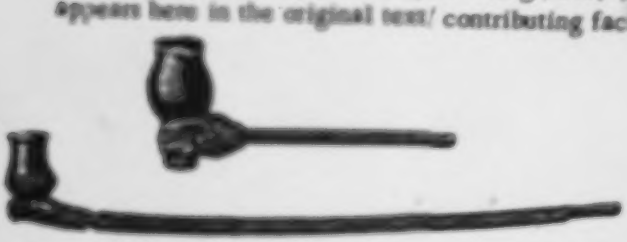

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [43]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekūk-myiɔ̄k (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntɔ́n I; bowl, obɨ́'k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

1: Tessmann--165 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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361
342

Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

276 (myō-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

1: Tessmann--166 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

intended for the next sowing are taken off. Since the principal crop of the field has meanwhile been harvested and the field therefore has been abandoned, the young tobacco plants which have developed from prematurely ripened seeds are taken home and planted in the vicinity of the house.

Further treatment of the leaves consists simply of drying them in the house, either on the drying lofts (one or two days) or under the roof, underneath the mats into which the stalks are pushed so that the leaves hang down freely (depending on the distance from the fire, three to five days). Naturally, the Pangwe know nothing about the fermentation process; it may once in a while take place accidentally when the leaves are kept tied together in a basket. Usually, however, so many brothers, friends, and members of the kin group appear on the scene that the entire harvest is distributed. Tobacco is regarded as communal property, so to speak; just as the pipe in the meeting house is used by everyone in common, so are the tobacco leaves considered common property, and it is the custom to share them with the members of the village at each harvest.

In spite of the crude treatment of the tobacco leaf, native tobacco is supposed to be not at all bad, as I was assured by smokers. /172/ /Fig. 111 appears here in the original text./

Section 7

Dress and Ornaments

1. Dress. Men's dress (loin cloths, belts). -- Women's dress (front apron, back apron, working dress). -- Children's dress. -- Hair style for children; for adults (helmet crests, helmet caps, occurrence, kinds, production). -- Hair style of the older people. -- Headdress. -- Beards.
2. Ornaments. Hair ornaments. -- Piercing the nasal septum. -- Nose ornaments. -- Forehead ornaments. -- Neck ornaments (necklaces and neck bands, neck rings made

515
342 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases (Krokro /Ed. ,?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

[351]

Oil (mbɔ̂ɔ) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm, in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lec.) Engl. (adɔ̂ɔ́), fruit, ebɔ̂ɔ: kernels, ngɔ̂ɔ́ IV-ebɔ̂ɔ), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engɔ̂ɔ́), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 56).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

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303 The fruit (adɔ̂ɔ́ɔ́), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/

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303 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text./

ma	vɛ̀ɛ̀		mot	oko,		okɔ̂ɔ̂,	o	mbe	a
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him

nie	abum	a	ti,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him

a	oa
for	you!

Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil; it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, specifically made for this purpose (ekùt ā̀ŋ̀ŋ́) from the Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekīle-mafū́, efī́-āŋ̀ŋ́). Although this press is made by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers. In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight,

the board is tied to the /192/ lower cross-stick. Sometimes in place of the board one uses sticks oriented in the same direction and placed close to each other, which are then, of course, tied to the frame at the top and at the bottom.

The pressing itself (a kilo mallé) is shown in Figure 144. The little basket with the pulp is hung either over the stick that is set at an angle or over the upper end of the board (Fig. 144), so that it rests in front of the board. Then it is squeezed out with sticks. In squeezing, one stick after another is placed diagonally over the basket (in a top to bottom direction): one end of the stick is placed behind the corresponding frame post while the other end is drawn up to the other post and fastened to it with string. In this way the basket is squeezed, and the contents are pressed downwards.

Prior to this, a vessel has been placed under the board down which the oil runs during the pressing. A leaf filter or an old basket over the vessel strains out the larger impurities. During the rainy season the fruit yields a more watery oil, while during the dry season it yields an oil that becomes solid very soon after being pressed out.

(b) Oil palm oil.

Corresponding to the more infrequent occurrence of the oil palm from north to south, oil from the oil palm is of much greater importance in the north than in the south. In the former region it is better prepared -- if at this point I may speak of it as a food -- even if it is not prepared as well as among the coastal tribes -- while in the latter region it is less well prepared. Furthermore, while in the south there are only three methods of obtaining the oil, in the north there are four and an equal number of varieties of oil corresponding to the methods of extraction. These are as follows: /193/ /Fig. 145 appears here in the original text/

1. Pressed palm oil (mowǒ, plural), for rubbing on the skin and food;
2. Boiled palm oil (nnyIman e mbǒn), only for rubbing on the skin;
3. Washed palm oil (ǐoń), Jaunde and Mwele, used for rubbing on the skin and for food;

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252

4. Palm seed oil (mbɔ̀n e mbaá, maniaŋga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

[362]

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415
301

Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

2) Boiled oil.

249 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a
252 stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil
824 fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of leaves of the feverweed Andropogon schoenanthus (olim e ntangan), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum Pachylobus edulis E. Don. (asi' Ntum, oligoga Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pound-
252 ing, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

1: Tessmann--198 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

302
P22

Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

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●249
252
516]

Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom